rior ruled in my favor. Then somebody in the Military Governor's office wrote a memorandum pointing out that since I was behind bars where I belonged there was no point in setting me free.

The ward was full of noise, stench, filth. But life was not bad there. For the first time in many months I had no responsibilities and could do as I pleased—sit against the wall with closed eyes and listen to noises around me or look around and listen to nothing. I needed this kind of rest badly. After three or four weeks I was released on bail.

THE SECOND ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The campaign for elections to the Second Duma, in the winter of 1906-7, was in full swing, and again I found myself in it up to the hilt. The electoral law had remained unchanged, but the government was trying to block the election of liberal and radical candidates by arbitrary interpretation of its provisions. The idea was to eliminate opposition candidates, beginning at the lowest step in the election, and sift the electors at each subsequent stage. The peasants would be forbidden to elect a village schoolteacher, clerk, or priest unless the candidate was living in the community in which he was born. Residence requirements for workers were raised. The courts were instructed to start prosecution of prospective candidates suspected of liberal or radical leanings.

The radical parties no longer thought of boycotting the elections, but they had no common electoral strategy. In contrast, the Cadets developed a plan of action on two fronts. They attacked the rightists by denouncing Stolypin's regime of violence and lawlessness; the task of the Duma, they told the voters, was to put an end to this regime. Then they asked how the Duma could ensure law, order, and freedom in Russia. And they answered by severely criticizing the revolutionary parties and their tactics in the First Duma. "You use a violin to play on, not to drive nails," Miliukov explained. "Likewise, you must use the Duma for legislation, not for fomenting strikes and unrest."

At the first electoral meeting, I paid tribute to Miliukov's metaphor. "The point is well taken," I said. "The Duma is neither a violin nor a hammer, but Professor Miliukov is right in stressing the distinction between the Cadets and the left. It is up to the voters to decide whom to send to the Duma—violin players or wreckers who will become builders."

The two arguments became the leitmotiv of the dispute.

I was arrested twice during the campaign. After a speech that con-